231
192

b) Classification of Cattle According to Color

Amanya, blue-grey
Ibihogo, dark brown
Ibihogo bitose, darker brown
Igaju, light brown
Igaju ly'intukura, yellow-brown

Igisa, café au lait [coffee-colored]
Igitare, white
Ikibamba, black with large white spots
[47]
Ikibayi, grey-brown
Ikijugu, light grey
Isine, white with small brown spots
Itshyasha, with a white spot on its forehead
Ubugondo bw'izagiriza, white with small brown spots
Umukara, black
Umusengo, brown with small white spots
Urwirungu rwumugoroba, black and white
Urwirungu rw'amarwa, pinkish tan

c) Classification of Cattle According to Age

1. MALE CATTLE

Umutavo, newborn
Ingimbuke, a fortnight old
Umushishe, a month old
Incharwatsi, that eats grass for the first time
Umukulira, that goes to pasture for the first time

Inchuke, weaned

Ikimasa ly'umukangara, a little larger than the inchuke
Karasiga inkivyondo, good for paying a fine
Igitobyi, ready to breed
Imfisi umutore, that has bred once
Ubukombe, adult bull
Umutaza, old bull

2. FEMALE CATTLE

Up to being weaned, same name as male cattle
Ishashi ikata, pregnant heifer
Iliza, first calf
Impete, second calf
Impetule, third calf
Ijigija, fourth calf
Ibuguma, cow that still calves but whose calf is too weak and dies
Inshura, old cow that no longer calves

231
192

c) Classification by age (cont'd)
2. FEMALE CATTLE

Isave, cow sterile from birth (thin)
Urubeheri, cow sterile from birth (fat)

d) Classification of Cattle According to Horns

Igaritse, with large spreading horns
Impotore, with horns whose points are slightly twisted
Ingarure, with twisted horns whose points go forward
Inkungu, without horns
[48]
Intenderi, with horns whose points point toward the ground
Inkungu y'indegeri, with small mobile horns
Ikubis'ihembe, with one vertical and one horizontal horn
Itigey'inyuma, with horns whose points point backwards
Itez'akamosd, with crossed horns
Urubindo, with horns whose points point towards the ears
Itegey'ijuru, with large almost vertical horns

e) Classification of Cattle According to Common Law

422 231 [622] [192] IMBATA. Head of cattle received as dowry, as a present, or bought in the market, and whose owner is the true proprietor. But if, in putting himself under the patronage of the hill or provincial chief (1) he receives from either of them one or several cows called

1. See further on, Obligations and Contracts, p. 63.

inkazibiti or ingabane, according to whether he is a Muhutu or a Mututsi, all the imbata cows can be taken away from him with the others, should he lose his status as a client, by an arbitrary decision of his patron.

422 231 427 If a Muhutu receives from a Mututsi some heads of cattle in virtue of the contract called ubugaragu (lease of livestock) (1),

1. See further on, Obligations and

Contracts, p.63.

231 and if after a few years by selling the young bulls, the skins, the
422 horns, the milk, and the butter, he has made enough money to
427 buy a head of cattle, the latter is not an imbata, but an impahano (2).

2. Cf. Property, Ownership of Cattle, p. 43.

422 If a Muhutu, the umugaragu of a Mututsi, marries his
583 daughter and receives a milch cow as dowry, the latter is not an
192 imbata, but an inkwano, and the shebuja of the son-in-law can take
231 it back. In effect, it is the social position of the Muhutu which entitled him to collect a dowry in cattle. If he had not been a client of a Mututsi, he would have received as dowry only hoes or goats. [49]

231 INTUNDANO. (1) Cow bought in the market with the salary
422
192 1. From kutunda, "to do business."

earned at the mines in exchange for goats or baskets of beans. It is an imbata.

INDUNDU. Cow acquired in immediate full ownership without the condition that the buyer should later make an additional payment. Indundu is opposed to ingwate (2).

2. See further on, p. 46.

[431] INKAZIBITI. Cows given without fee by the patron to a client who has paid homage (guhakwa). To take possession of cows promised by the shebuja is called kujya ku ilembo (lit., to cross the threshold of the rugo). The first cow received under these conditions is called inka y'igiti (3); the second, impetano; the others

3. Literally, "cow of the tree trunk."

do not have a special name. A father can also give some inkazibiti to his wives and sons.

231 INGABANE. When a Mututsi who has paid homage to the
422 Mwami receives from him a hill with cattle and abagaragu, the said
192 cattle is called ingabane (4). A herd of ingabane consists of at
431

4. From kugabana, "to receive."

least 30 heads of cattle, cows, calves, heifers, and young bulls.

A simple Mututsi with no political authority may receive some ingabane and some inkazibiti. But the favor of the Mwami makes him considered an important person. He is the Mwami's abagaragu.

The Bahutu usually receive only inkazibiti.

INDEMANO. (5). a) Cows of the same color and age, given

5. From kulema, "to create," "to form," "to assemble."

by a father to his son when the latter is about to get married. The whole of the indemano is called iminani.

[50]

b) By a patron to a client of whom he is fond and who is going to get married.

c) By a husband to his wife.

The indemano are also ingabane.

After these various distributions, the cattle remaining to the master make up the ingarigari (reserved cows).

422 INGARIGARI. Cows which the master keeps for his own
231 pleasure and personal use without giving any to his wives, sons, or
192 friends, or without leasing them out to any abagaragu.

INKUKE (1). a) A son, who has received from his father

425
231
192

1. From gukura, "to take away," "to remove."

indemano, returns a milch cow (inkuke) to his father which has been taken from among the indemano. When it no longer gives any milk the father sends it back to his son.

425 b) A Mututsi umugaragu is obliged to send the Mwami an inkuke
192 from among the ingabane he has received. When the cow no longer
231 gives milk, the client must bring other animals.

c) An umugaragu can receive some indemano from his patron. Usually these are old cows or bull calves which he then exchanges for heifers. When they are full grown, he gives one or several of these inkuke to his patron.

d) An umugaragu of the Mwami must occasionally send him a milch cow from among the ingabane he has received.

INDWANYI. Full-grown bull given annually to the Mwami by each provincial chief, for sacrifice to the spirits of the departed or slaughtered for the use of the king, his Batwa, or his foreign guests: Bahima, Barundi, Baganda, etc.

[51]

IBINIHA. Sterile cow given under the same conditions and meant for the same use.

[787] INTORWA. Bull calves or young rams to be used for consulting the auguries or for the cult of ancestors.

YO KUBIKA. Cow brought to the Mwami by the successor of a provincial chief who comes to announce the death of his father.

IY'UBUNTU (1). Cow given as a present. It belongs in full

1. From ubuntu, "generosity." Ineza, "good will," is also said.

ownership to the one who receives it, who is held under no obligation to the donor. Ubuntu cows are not ingabane; they are imbata when they are placed among the imbata that are already in the rugo, and keep the name of inka y'ubunta, without possessing any of its privileges, in all other cases [sic].

INYITURANO. Cow given in return by the one who has received an ubuntu. When a man who has bestowed ubuntu on certain of his friends dies, his children can claim an inyiturano cow from each of them.

IMPAHANO (2). Cows bought under the same conditions as

2. From guhaha, "to fetch, to procure."

the inyũndano and received as a gift or dowry. They have the same character, but if their owner attaches himself to a patron they become ipso facto cows of an umugaragu.

425 INYARULEMBO. Cows which continue to belong to a
231 Mututsi shepherd, but which may be at the home of one of his wives
192 or of an umugaragu. They remain near the master's dwelling, for they are to provide the milk needed for him and his family. Indemano given by a [52] cattle owner are called inyarulembo. Cows bought by a Mututsi umugaragu (intundano) are also called inyarulembo. On the other hand, those acquired by a Mututsi who has entered into a clientele contract become ingabane.

583 INKWANO. Milch cow given or received as dowry for the
231 marriage of a daughter or sister. It becomes imbata.
192

INDONGORANYO (1). Head of cattle given to the young couple by the wife's parents, and sometimes by the husband's parents. Among the chiefs, the indongoranyo is given immediately after the marriage as a sign of friendship. Among the other Batutsi, the indongoranyo is given to the young woman by her father when she visits her parents after the birth of her first child.

192
431
231

1. From kurongoranya, "to help set up housekeeping."

IY'URUGORI (2). Milch cow or heifer which a young mother receives from her father or her father-in-law, unless she has already had an indongoranyo bestowed on her. If the marriage is broken, the urugori is not claimed from the wife's family.

[301]

2. From the name of the sorghum-straw band worn by Banyarwanda mothers on their heads.

[604] IY'ICHYARI. The daughter-in-law is not allowed to see her father-in-law during the first days of marriage. When he lifts the interdiction, the father-in-law can give an ichyari to the young couple. Among the Bahutu, a sheep or a goat is given instead of a cow.

431 IY'IGISAGE. Cow given by a father to his son when the
192 latter reaches the age of six or seven years old. At that moment,
231 the hairdress he has worn until then (igisage) is changed to one called
302 amasunzu (3). The Muhutu child receives at the same age two or three banana trees.

3. Hair dressed in the shape of a coxcomb or a crescent.

000 three banana trees.

192 764 231 [53] INKAMWA. When the father of a family dies, one of his sons or grandsons is chosen to put between his hands a jug of milk. The cow that has given this milk is called inkamwa. It is given to the one who has placed the jug of milk between the hands of the deceased and is not included in the division of the inheritance.

This cow cannot be sold or killed. Its young are not subject to this interdiction. If it dies, it is eaten by the Bahutu in the owner's rugo, and its bones are buried there.

Among the Bahutu a sheep is used as the inkamwa.

IY'UMUGANGU. When the father of a family dies, the eldest son slaughters a bull calf, which is eaten by the family. The skin is worn by the eldest son for two months so that the cows will not die like their master.

192 231 731 IY'UMULIRO and INSHUMBUSHANYO. 1) If lightning has destroyed the herd (or even one animal) held by the umugaragu, the latter can obtain from his shebuja the umuliro (lit., the fire cow), either a cow or a bull calf.

When several cows are given by the patron to indemnify his client, the first one is called umuliro, the others inshumbushanyo.

425 231 2) If the patron deprives his client of his whole herd to punish him for not performing one of his obligations, the umugaragu begs the protection of another shebuja who gives his new dependent a cow and a bull calf or only a bull calf.

192 731 231 IMPONOKE. When the herd of the patron, the provincial chief, or the king is decimated by cattle plague (muryamo), the abagaragu give some cows to fill the gaps caused by the epizootic disease.

192 231 766 [54] INDORANO (1). At the death of the king's child, wife, brother, and also in the case of death in a great chief's family, the provincial chiefs and the hill chiefs, if they are directly subject to the Mwami, each bring two cows to the Mwami, and only one in the other event. A cow is also given by the abagaragu. The cow given to a friend on the occasion of deep mourning is also called indorano.

1. From kurora, "to see."

192 IMPONGANO. A cow given to appease the anger of the king or
231 one of the provincial chiefs.
431 2) A cow given to a friend of the Mwami to thank him for his intervention with the king.

IZIMANO. The first time a great provincial chief goes to visit another, the host gives his guest a milch cow.

Similarly, if the king or a provincial chief visits one of their abagaragu, he is given a calf.

INJISHYWA. A cow that accompanies a noble Mututsi when he visits a provincial chief or the Mwami on business or to pay homage. It is meant to provide him with the milk necessary for food.

427 INDAGIZO. (2). A cow which the depositor (uwaragije) entrusts
192
231

2. From kulagiza, "to give on trust in order to pasture."

to someone who owns a better pasture than his, but the trustee (uwaragiywe) does not become umugaragu. The latter must return the cow when it has calved, but he has the right to the milk for two months if the cow is young, and for a fortnight if it is not. If the calf dies, the trustee has the right to the milk one day out of four.

[55]

231 INTAHIRA (1). This is the best of the cows held by an umugaragu.
192

1. From gutahira, "to come in front," "to precede," "to lead."

He always makes it walk at the head of the herd. The holder can take its milk (intagemura, lit., to keep the milk for one's self), but the calves must return to the owner.

192 INGWATE. Primus, who owns a bull calf (inguzwa) or a sterile
231 cow (also inguzwa), asks Secundus, who has a heifer (ingwate), if he is
437 willing to exchange on the following conditions:

a) If the heifer has a female calf (umukangara), Primus will keep it and its mother for a length of time to be agreed upon, usually two years. Secundus will then take back the cow and its calf and in addition will keep the inguzwa.

192 437 231 b) If the heifer has a male calf, Secundus takes it at once and Primus keeps the mother for two years. The milk is divided between the two contracting parties as follows: Secundus has the right to the milk for four days, Primus for two days, and the shepherd one day a week.

c) If the heifer dies before having a calf, Primus takes the skin and Secundus keeps the inguzwa. To avoid leaving the heifer with Primus for two years, Secundus gives the other contracting party a pregnant cow (ingenzura) and takes back the ingwate and its young (female or male calf). There are then two possibilities:

a) The ingenzura bears a female calf; Primus claims it.

1) Secundus accepts and takes back the ingenzura.

2) Secundus refuses. Primus keeps the ingenzura and its calf, and does not give any of the milk until another cow is given him. [56]

b) The ingenzura gives birth to a male calf.

1) Secundus agrees to give Primus an umukangara and takes back the cow and its calf.

2) Secundus refuses. Primus keeps the ingenzura and its calf. He will return the calf only after it is weaned. He waits for the cow to have a female calf.

IGICHANIRO (1). Primus who wishes to have a bull calf gives all his cows as a pledge (kugwatiriza) to Secundus, yet keeps them at his home. After two years, Primus gives a female calf to Secundus. If he refuses, Secundus would have the right to take a milch cow (gukubitira).

1. The igichaniro is, strictly speaking, the fire lit in the kraal to protect the cows from the cold.

If the contract concerns goats, the fact that Secundus pays himself if Primus refuses is called gufatira.

192 431 231 INDABUKIRANO (2). 1) At the accession of the king, his abagaragu and all the provincial chiefs must each give one or two cows in homage to the king.

2. From kurabukira, "to offer an accession gift to the king."

2) When an umutware w'intebe, an ichibiri, or an igisonga (3)

3. Cf. Government and Administration, Political Divisions, p. 85.

192 is appointed, the owners of several heads of cattle must present him with
431 a cow. The abagaragu can, but are not obliged to, do likewise.
231 3) When the king or an umutware dismisses or despoils a chief, the abagaragu of the new chief can also each give him an indabukirano.

The Bahutu give goats, sheep, and hoes. [57]

192 INTORE. 1) Like the king, certain great chiefs possess a corps of
231 intore (dancing pages) (1) (2). A rich Mututsi's child who goes to a
635

1. From gutora, "to take," or gutorana, "to levy," "to choose."

2. Cf. Government and Administration, The Intore, p. 78.

provincial chief to become a page brings him a y'intore cow, which is given to the umutware y'intore (commander of the pages), who thus becomes in a way the shebuja of the child's father. The latter however is not held by any bond like an ordinary client.

192 2) Also called intore are the cows given compulsorily by the
231 abagaragu to a noble Mututsi who succeeds his father as head of the
651 family.

3) Tax paid in cows.

INGORORANO (3). Cow given to reward a warrior for his courage

192
231
431

3. From kugurorera, "to gratify."

or for a service rendered. Whoever has cared well for the master's cows (inyarulembo) or ingarigari) or who has cultivated his fields well may receive a cow. To reward the umutware w'intore for his instruction, the father of a page also gives an ingororano.

192 UMUHETO. A cow taken with a bow and arrow (umuheto). This
231 used to be war booty. In the past this name was also given to the tax paid
727
651 by warriors.

IMIGOGORO (4). A cow sent every day to the white people to

192
234
574

4. From mogogoro, "fatigue," "annoyance," "imposition." Before the Belgian occupation these cows were called imbyukuruke (lit., parade).

192
234 supply them with milk. In Kinyaga (Shangugu) and in Bugoyi, it is
574 called umuheto. In Ndorwa it is called kibere. [58]

IMBYUKURUKE. A choice cow destined to be shown to a visiting high personage and to provide him with milk during his stay.

192
431 IBIHEMBO. Gift of cows to the wife of the king, a great chief,
231 or a patron when she has a child.

The gift made by the Bahutu consisting simply of milk or beer is called y'ibihembo.

192
231 INTIZO (1). 1) A man who has been despoiled by his chief re-
426

1. From gutiza, "to lend."

ceives a cow from a friend as a loan (intizo) until justice is done. The friend may perhaps only give him milk (intizo), because by sending a cow he would ostensibly show his friendship and would thus risk incurring
192 the wrath of the chief.
231 2) A cattle owner must give at least one milch cow to his cow-herd (umushumba) who does not have time to cultivate for himself.

[465] 3) A Muhutu who cultivates the fields of a Mututsi receives milk (intizo) from him morning and evening.

4) A cow is given to two farmers who share the milk and the payments required in exchange (2).

2. Milking a cow is equal to the salary for one day of cultivation.

[681] IMPONGANO. A cow given in reparation for an offense or as a
431] present to the one (inshuti) whose intervention may help to win the lawsuit.

INGURANO. A redemption cow given by a patron or the head of a
[696] family to keep the guilty one from being condemned. [59]

192
437
231 INKUNGURANYO (1). Primus, owner of a heifer approaches

1. From gukunguranya, "to exchange two cows of equal value definitely and irrevocably."

Secundus to ask him to exchange the cow for a female calf or for two bulls. They must not give anything in addition in order to have an absolute right over the exchanged object, but neither of them has the right to take back the exchanged value.

643 of his great chiefs to cede it to him. The latter yields with good
[425] grace and usually receives some cattle in exchange.

The Mwami is an absolute monarch by divine right who
643 knows no other rule but his will, even his caprice. (2) In the past,
661
692

2. Hence the proverb: Luyose higirwa n'Unwami, "all depends on the King."

before our occupation, he could with impunity torture, mutilate, or kill anyone who had displeased him. His criminal sentences conformed to the customs of the country, which acknowledged this [87] formidable right, and no one thought of rebelling against his decisions (1).

[177]

1. The Mwami's right of life and death was abolished in 1917 at the time of the occupation of the country by our troops.

In the same way he is high judge and makes the final settlement in disputes, even the slightest, among his subjects.

Finally, the king is the supreme legislator of the people. With the help of the abiru, he sees that the common law is kept, but he has the sole power of modifying the country's law if and whatever he wishes.

643 He announces his decisions (amategeko) at the door of his rugo,
[692] where people from all parts have congregated to pay homage or demand justice. The intumwa (messengers) are then charged to make known the Mwami's orders to the people of the different provinces.

643 In addition to his Mututsi name (Musinga, Rudahigwa, etc.),
551 the Mwami receives on his accession a king's name (Yuhi, Mutara, etc.). These names are repeated periodically; thus the present Mwami is Mutara III.

The king is sometimes given a surname such as Rwabugiri Sezisoni (Merciful, Clement) (2).

●[192]

2. Foreign word originating in Buhima, east of Ruanda.

German. In order to avoid harshness in the sound and pronunciation of words, the Murundi never permits an uninterrupted succession of two consonants or two vowels in the same syllable; he separates the consonants by a vowel and the vowels by a consonant or by the elision of one of the vowels.

However, in addition to the Kirundi which is generally spoken in Urundi, there is also a vulgar and sacral Old Kirundi. Its use is limited, and wherever it is spoken only fragments of it are mixed with modern Kirundi. The Barundi have two, three, or more terms for most objects and concepts; some belong to the elegant conversational language, others to the vulgar manner of speech of Old Kirundi which is used by the common people, old women, and also by the Batwa whenever they are among themselves (No. 19, p. 330), and it is found in the religious hymns, festive chants, and ceremonial speeches (see pp. 70, 124, 128). In Ruanda there is also a secret ritual language called "lubandwa" (No. 48, p. 315), and there is a similar language called "luchwesi" in Ussuwi (No. 24, p. 57).

In Old Kirundi the roots of nouns and verbs and their inflection are quite different from modern Kirundi. They are also unlike those of any other Bantu language. Presumably Old Kirundi is the original language of the Batwa who have been living in these highlands longer than anyone else. The immigrants who arrived later learned this language from the Batwa and at present use it either separately in addition to their own idiom or intermingled with it. Of course, the Batwa speak modern Bantu Kirundi in addition to their original language (No. 18, pp. 106-107).

Here are a few examples to illustrate the three linguistic elements which co-exist in Urundi:

Word	Kitwa	Old Kirundi	New Kirundi
sun	irijotwa	irijotwa	isuba
moon	ukurabwa	ukurabwa	ukwesi
leopard	uwuhama	uwuhama	ingwe
sorghum	ururerema	ururerema	isakka
to hunt	kutamagisa	kutamagisa	kuhiga
to forge	kunaga	kunagura	kususa

/20/ Preface

104 Note: When we cite proper names, geographical terms, and
192 other common nouns, we shall write them with the article (1) and the
193

1. The article (a, i, u), which varies according to word classes, is designated in Runyarwanda works already in existence under the term "euphonic vowel."

nominal prefix (indicating the singular or plural) (2), which are joined

2. The nominal prefix, which indicates the singular or plural, also varies according to noun class.

to the word itself as follows:

Class	Singular	Plural	Class	Singular	Plural
Class I	mu	ba	Class VI	u	n
II	mu	mi	VII	ka	tu
III	n	n	VIII	bu	ma
IV	ki	bi	IX	ku	ma
V	i	ma	X	ha	ha

Article	Number Singular or Plural	Word Root	Meaning
u	mu	ntu	man
a	ba	ntu	men
u	mu	tutsi	Hamite
a	ba	tutsi	Hamites
a	ba	hutu	serfs (cultivators)

104

192	a	ba	twa	Negrillos
193	u	ru	go	palisade
	i	n	go	palisades

It would be more logical to give only the root itself as follows: /les/ ntu, /les/ tutsi, /les/ hutu and, in the singular, /le/ ntu, /le/ tutsi, /le/ hutu. It would be a matter of habit but the euphony would suffer a little by this.

[55] 195 So as not to risk meeting a lion /intare/, they use the following expression when speaking of that animal: "the glutton" (lwabgiga).

The Blacks are never at a want for words. Their language is rich and lends itself to subtleties and to the development of the new ideas introduced by the Europeans.

198 [575] In order to communicate among themselves, the members of the Ryangombe secret society have created a sort of dialect. Many of its more common terms are known to the uninitiated but arouse mirth when used in ordinary speech.

We shall list here some of the words in this Rumandwa dialect:

192 198

Rumandwa	Literal Sense	Runyarwanda	Meaning
Ameza	"Good things"	Amata	Milk
Ubgihinga	"A difficult thing to cultivate"	Uburo	Eleusine
Ibihimbaza	"Things that satisfy /hunger/"	Ibishimbo	Beans
Amaranda (1)	"Creeping things"	Amateke	Taraud /the dictionary meaning "screw-cutter" does not seem to apply here./

1. Or amabya y' abak ungu.

Umubonanya		Umutsima	Sorghum bread
Inganda		Inzoga	Beer
Akayoba nzara	"That which staves off hunger"	Itabi	Tobacco
Imirundi y' inkuba	"The legs of lightning," (that is to say, that which is shaped like a bolt of lightning).	Ibijumba	Sweet Potatoes /456/

198
192

Urwiko	"The silent one"	Inkono y' itabi	Pipe
Uruhunga		Inzoga y' urwagwa	Banana beer
Isakara	"That which has a roof"	Inzu	Hut
Gakungu	"That which has no horns"	Imbga	Dog
Inguruka		Ihene	Goat
Ihangi		Inka	Cow
Gukoroga		Gukama	To milk
Gutanyara		Gutabara	To go to war
Gutakura		Gukinga	To cultivate
Gaminga		Gahinga	Hilltop
iKinyamusenyi		Ikinyamunyu	Bunch of bananas
Umusenyi	"Sand"	Umunyu	Salt
Serukanaga (1)	"The man who binds"	Umutware	Chief

1. Gukanaga, the verb from which the substantive se-rukanaga is derived ("the man who binds"), is synonymous to the word kuboha, "to bind."

Ibifunga mwoyo (2)	"That which wears pants"	Abazungu	Europeans

2. The etymological sense of the native expression is stronger than that of the French translation and shows how poorly the Whites were regarded at first.

Umumputu		Umugabo	Man

192

198

Umumkari		Umugore	Woman
Umwere wa giti		Umwana	Child

The cabalistic language of the initiates is not exactly refined. It would hardly be decent to list all the terms in their vocabulary.

Various Impositions on Subjects and Clans

644 Aside from the majordomos, stewards, and couriers (intumwa), one also finds at court the innumerable caterers to His Majesty.

It may be said as a general statement that everyone works for the king: architects, professional builders, weapon makers, blacksmiths, mat manufacturers, basket weavers, potters, tanners, tailors of colobus pelt garments, furnishers of scented wood (3), veterinarians,

[824] [234]

3. The scented wood umugehsi, when converted into shavings called imibavu, is used to perfume butter.

At the time of the last volcanic eruption in 1912, the king had large quantities of this wood burnt to purify the air, which was tainted by sulphurous vapors.

bleeders of /457/ cows, butchers, and other artisans of all types.

224 644 Even the official "rat catchers" come regularly to carry out their duties, like the members of other corporations. Instead of being designated by the ordinary name of "trap setters" or "rat catchers," they are known by the euphemistic term of "sons-in-law" (abakwe), who come to marry (ngo baje kulongora). This is done so as not to arouse the suspicion of the rats when those important persons come to court.

237 272 438 The honey which the king and dignitaries use frequently in the form of hydromel, their favorite beverage (inkangaza), comes chiefly from the mountainous regions rich in flowers and trees.

644 [534] Swinging their grotesque headdress to the right and to the left, they come in dancing and singing, sounding the bells and sistra which they hold in their hands.

They call upon Ryangombe and other dead initiates to bestow their protection upon the sovereign.

195 644 192 2. In order to speak of the king and of his most trivial and frequent actions, custom demands that colorful and noble terms be used, such as for example the following: kubikirwa or kwisasira instead of kuryama, which means "to go to bed."

igisasiro for uburiri ..... "royal bed"
kubamburwa for kubyuka ..... "to get up"
kuj' ijabiro for kuboneka ..... "to appear"
inyundo for amaguru ..... "legs"
ingoro for inzu ..... "house" /492/
ingoro irakamwa for inzu irava . "it rains in the hut"
ingoro irahonjoka for inzu iragwa. "the hut is falling to pieces with age" (1)

1. Kubikirwa comes from the word kubika, "to put away an object," "to put it in its proper place"; kwisasira means "to spread out the mats on the ground"; igisasiro, "the place where the mats are spread out"; kubamburwa, "to be awake"; kuj' ijabiro, "to go to that part of the hut where one talks to guests"; inyundo, "iron hammer"; ingoro, "palace"; ingoro irakamwa, "the palace is milked," to mean that it rains in there; ingor' irahonjoka, "the palace grows fat" (that is, it swells), because it is falling to pieces with age.

192
195
644

Figurative terms are used to speak of the king's death:

gutabara ..... "to go to the aid, " "to go to war"
gutanga ..... "to hand over" (the drum to the successor)
kunywa ..... "to drink" (poison)
gussaza ..... "to grow old"
gusezera ..... "to take leave"
ijuru ryaguye ..... "the sky has fallen"

644 3. It would be most disrespectful to allude to anything pertaining to his eventual death. While on a trip the king must avoid passing too close to cemeteries or even to the mere "night stops" (ilaro, amalaro), where the bodies of his predecessors were laid in the course of their transfer to the royal necropolises.

[767] Nor is he permitted to spend the night in those villages which are inhabited by the undertakers.

The latter in turn must avoid appearing in his presence and must employ an intermediary when they have to deal with the king.

As if the thought, likeness, or memory of death could shorten his days or bring misfortune upon him!

4. Whenever possible His Majesty must avoid bending his knees (guhina), so as not to risk a reduction in the area of his kingdom (2). /493/

[821] 2. When caught by a storm or bad weather the king must not quicken his pace; he must proceed quietly to shelter. Rain is regarded as a blessing due to the influence of the prince. A quickening of his pace might bring the beneficial downpour to an end.

We believe that this popular belief will soon be pushed into the background, and that the monarch will become less willing to submit to all the demands of his position.

Pastoral Terms

192
233 The rich and varied vocabulary used by the Banyarwands proves the interest they take in their cattle

They have special terms to designate a black cow (inka y' umukara), a dark-brown cow (igitare), a grey one (ikijuju), a purple one (issine), a red one (umusengo), cows splotched with white, black, or yellow on a russet or grey background (ubugondo), an ash-grey cow (rwirungu), a dark-yellow one (inumba), and inka y' inyombya, the blackbird-hued cow for which the Batutsi entertain a superstitious fear.

A cowherd is called umushumba or umwungeri.

The king's cows other than the sacred cows are called insanga, which means "those that were found," from the word gusanga, "to find," because it was one of the first kings of Rwanda, Gihanga, who discovered them. They are also called by the name of ibigarama, from the word kugarama, "to stretch out," because they have long horns, etc.

Inka is the generic name for all horned beasts, cows or bulls. Inkungu is a cow without horns; inkungu z' amalegelege is a cow whose horns are loose.

The shape of the horns, their orientation, and the arch they form give rise to the following names: inkondogoro, inyabulegelege, ibibinda, impotore. Certain Batutsi cowherds burn the horns of their animals with a red-hot iron while they are still young in order to obtain the desired shape. /506/

Inka y' imbata (kwihita, "to exert oneself") is a cow acquired or bought through personal labor. It is an inalienable cow over which the chiefs have no rights whatsoever.

Inka y' igiti, cow of landed property (of the hill) received from the chief.

Inka y' impetano (guheta, ..."for the second time"). Second cow obtained from the chief.

Inka y' ubuntu, "generosity cow," or inka y' ineza "benevolence cow," a gift between relatives or blood brothers.

Inka y'ingwate (kugwatiriza), a cow which must be redeemed [422] (irichungura). The owner of a young bull makes a deal with the owner

192 233 [422] of a cow whereby he gives him the animal under condition that the first female calf born of this cow will be handed to him. He may even take the cow and keep it until the first calf is weaned, so long as he shares the milk with the owner of the animal over that period of time.

The term umukangara serves to designate the first heifer born under this agreement.

Inka y' inkungurano (kugurana, "to exchange"), a purchased cow. The exchange is effected against a sterile cow or two young bulls, some 20 goats or about 30 basketfuls of beans.

Inka y' inkwano (gukwa, "to buy a wife"), cow given as a bride price to acquire a wife.

[583] [585] Inka y' indongoranyo (kulongoranya, "to help establish a household"). This term serves to designate the animal that well-to-do parents present to their daughter on her wedding day. They also supply her with her trousseau at that time: a tanned and buttered cowhide enclosed in a basket, along with some rings of vegetable fiber, two mats for the bed, a supply of butter, etc., to provide for the early needs of the young couple.

192 233 431 844 Inka y' ichari (umwari, "young wife"). This expression /507/ designates the cow offered by the parents-in-law upon the birth of their first grandson. The son-in-law must present a few jugs of beer to his wife's parents along with his son. He is given a cow or heifer in return.

The father-in-law usually takes into account what he received at the time of his daughter's marriage. If his means are moderate, as are those of most Bahutu, he merely gives a young bull or a few hoes (1).

1. In such cases the young bull is designated by the name of igishito or uluhanderw' inka, "the side (that is, half) of a cow."

The gift offered in these circumstances rightfully devolves

●192
233
[844
431]

to the young mother who has suffered the pains of childbirth (umuruho w' umubyeyi). Her parents compensate her in this fashion for her troubles and sufferings.

Inka y' indundu (kurundura, "to give unconditionally") serves to designate a cow given unconditionally, as opposed to inka y' ingwate.

Inka y' ilembo means "the cow of entry (into the new household)," because the bride receives it as a gift from her parents-in-law when she enters her new home for the first time.

Inka y'indabukirano (kurabuka, kurabukir' umutware, "to pay an accession gift to a new chief") designates the cow given to a chief at the time of his accession to office.

Inka y' inyiturano (kwitura, kwiturana, "to pay a debt of gratitude") designates the cow given in acknowledgement of a kindness.

Inka y' inturano (gutura, "to offer a gift") serves to designate a cow which subjects must give to chiefs by way of a tax.

Inka y' intundano means "trade cow." The verb gutunda means "to trade" or "to purchase through an exchange of goods," hence the expression "trade cow."

Inka y' ingororano (kugororera, "to reward") designates /508/ a cow given as a reward for a favor done.

Inka y' inyibano (kwiba, "to steal"), a stolen cow.

Inka y' ibihembo, "a cow given in payment as salary," for example, to pay for two years of consecutive work.

Inka y' amahugu (guhuguza, "to deceive"), a cow obtained through trickery.

Inka y' umuheto ("bow"), a cow obtained by force.

Inka y' isaso ("bullet") is the generic name for the cows of the Europeans, who have taken over the land.

Inka z' indemano (kulema, "to create"), cows given by the king or by a great chief to someone they wish to honor or to raise above other men by providing him with a herd that will make him safe from want.

192 233 Inka z' inkuke (gukuka, "to come out of," "to come from") serves to designate cows which are merely in one's keeping.

Milk cows are always placed at the disposal of the chief, who never lacks milk.

Inka z'intarama (a term peculiar to the Bugoyi /region/), cows that are milked late in the morning and in the evening.

Inka z' imigogoro (imiruho), cows ("who cause trouble") because they often die or bring other worries to their owners, who are taxed on their milk.

Inka z' inyambo (indende), "cows of imposing size."

Inka z' ingegene, "ordinary cows."

Inka z' inyagisanze, "cows who graze in pastures which are always green."

Inka z' intahira (gu-ta-hira or gu-ta-gemura), "cows whose owner has full rights over them and is not subjected to any bondage toward his chief on their account.

[517] Inka z'imilizo, "cows with a (short) tail." The Batutsi sometimes shorten the tails of their heifers for esthetic reasons. /509/

Inka z' inkuku, "cows of small size."

Ikimasa, "ox"; impfizi, "bull"; ubukombe, "a bull in his prime" or one whose services are highly valued, hence the wish and expression, Ukagir' ubukombe! "May you own a fine bull!"

Inyana, "calf"; ishashi, "heifer"; imbyeyi, "mother cow"; inka y' issave or urubereri, "cow who has never calved"; ingumba, "cow who has become sterile"; inka y' issugi, "cow who never lost a calf"; iliza, "cow who has calved at least once"; ijigija, "cow who has calved many times"; inka y' ubusuri, "cow who lost a calf"; insindirano, "cow who is given the calf of another"; amabuguma, "old beasts," etc.

192 234 Fresh milk is called amata y' inshyushyu; curdled milk, ikivugutò; the milk of a cow who has just calved, umuhondo; the milk of a cow who is pregnant again, amasitu; fresh milk mixed with water, umwerera; one night's milk, umubanji; whey, amachunde or amenda, etc.

516 attention. Also, in contrast to our forms of etiquette, it is cus-
554 tomary for the one who pours a drink, be it milk, beer, or even water, always to drink first, even though he is usually of a [125] lower social rank than the one for whom the drink is poured. This custom is easily explained: the one who proffers the drink must prove that it is good, that is to say, not poisoned.

231 The Mututsi also shows his high regard for the cow in the
805 words for the time of day and the position of the sun. Early morning is expressed by inka zili munama, "the cows have been let out of the kraal." About eight o'clock in the morning is inka zahahutse, "the cows have gone to graze." At noon he says: "inka zishooka (the cows have gone to drink)." Inka zitaha, "the cows are returning," means that it is about six o'clock in the evening. Inka zikamwa, "the cows are being milked," means that it is between seven and eight in the evening.

231 The Batutsi use special terms to indicate the size of their
● 192 herds.

Mfite kanyana, "I have a calf," means a small herd of not more than 10 head.

Mfite akaka, "I have a small cow," means a herd of 30 to 60 head.

Mfite inka imwe or mfite inka, "I have a cow," means several herds.

[556] If you say of a person that he has many cows, you are using a general expression meaning he is very influential and rich.

231 All the Mututsi's interests are bound up with the cow. Once when Ishirangabo, the brother of the present king, who conducted Count Von Götzen through Ruanda, visited Father L. Classe and me, he said: "Kireka umwami, inka zihuta byose (the cow is more important than anything except the king)."

The hope of obtaining a cow from the king, the chief, or a well-to-do man makes the Mututsi a willing client, eager to please his chosen master.

The most insignificant man who puts himself at the service of someone a little more influential hopes not to be forgotten when, on occasion, his master is given a cow.